



MILITARY POLICE OFFICERS IN STATE LEGISLATIVES: LEGISLATIVE PRODUCTION, THEMES AND CORPORATE INTERESTS

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Abstract: From the 2015-2018 legislature, with a focus on all legislative proposals, we decided to look at the universe of state representatives from the military police in Brazil to verify whether the corporate interests of military police institutions influence what they propose. We used the SEC database and the military police (MP) own human resources databases. We find that the volume of legislative propositions tends to decrease over the years of the; whereas in the universe of propositions the theme “tribune” corresponds to 23%, the ” theme “public administration, 16.2% and the theme “social”, 14.3%; the corporate interests of military police officers in Brazil represent in cumulative percentage only 11.6% among other findings. Notwithstanding the findings, detailed aspects of military police officers’ parliamentary behavior remain open to theoretical discussion.

Keywords: Military police officers; State representative; Legislative proposals.

1 Introduction

After the exception regime from 1964 to 1985 and the consequent redemocratization of the country, the end of any military or police role in national politics was envisaged, however, in the last eight years we have observed the rise in the political scene of these same professional extracts (military and police officers¹). As an example, considering only candidates for federal representative throughout Brazil from the police and military segments, between 1998 and 2014, the number grew by almost ninety percent, from 120 to 209 candidates (BERLATTO; CODATO; BOLOGNESI, 2016, p. 95).

The results of the 2018 elections confirmed the trend of evolution in the presence of military and police officers in parliaments. In the comparison between 2014 and 2018, the number of representatives elected to the Assemblies, Federal Chamber and Senate jumped from 18 to 74 representatives, more than quadrupling the number in just one legislature. This could confirm the argument that the professional experience of public safety agents is a social resource that is easily instrumental during election campaigns, since the demands of Brazilian society in this field tend, in general, to reinforce repressive forms of control (BERLATO; CODATO, 2014, p. 2). In this sense, considering only the elected military police (MP), table 1 shows us the strength of the

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¹“Military” refers to members of the Armed Forces and State Military Police; “Police officers” refers to members of civilian police at the federal and state levels (Federal Police, Federal Highway Police and State Civil Police).

phenomenon from the institutions of the Brazilian military police.

Table 1 - Military police officers elected in 2014 and 2018 by office.

Elected in 2014			
Senators	Federal Representatives	State Representatives	Total
00	09	24	33
Elected in 2018			
Senators	Federal Representatives	State Representatives	Total
02	13	32	47

Source: elaborated by the Supreme Electoral Court – SEC (2018).

From table 01 we can extract a 42% increase in the military police presence in legislative houses (Assemblies, Federal Chamber and Senate). In addition, of the 24 state representatives elected in 2014, 08 were re-elected in their federative units (states) in 2018; 02 state representatives elected in 2014, ascended to the Federal Chamber in 2018; 02 federal representatives elected in 2014, were reelected in 2018 and, 01 federal representative elected in 2014, ascended to the Federal Senate in 2018.

The present article constitutes a fraction of the research underway in the field of analyses on subnational legislatures and of recent studies on the military in parliament where it seeks to identify the existence of relations between the military police origin of state representatives and their legislative behavior and, if any, what these relations are. Here, our ambition through an analysis of the set of legislative proposals of state representatives is to know whether these representatives propose legislation aimed at corporate interests and, if they do, what is the relevance of the proposals.

2 Parliamentary behavior and legislative production

Research on the legislature in its various dimensions has been one of the most expensive themes for Brazilian Political Science since the 1990s. On the one hand, the Brazilian National Congress “is today, without a doubt, one of the institutions most studied by political scientists”. On the other hand, the subnational arena still lacks more in-depth studies or, at the limit, it is far from being compared to the analyses dedicated to the House of Representatives and the Federal Senate (SANTOS, 2008; PERES; CARVALHO, 2012; TOMIO; RICCI, 2012; CARVALHO, 2012 *apud* PARANHOS, 2014, p. 20).

Notwithstanding the immediately previous reference, taking a step back and looking at the tradition of legislative studies, it seems to us to be consistent some rescue of literature to understand how representatives behave, what are the incentives or constraints that shape their behavior and, therefore, influence what they propose or fail to propose, even at a subnational level.

In this sense, in the studies on the great subject of the legislature we find two dominant currents: the functionalist with a focus on detecting the role of the legislative house in relation to the country or state it represents; and the neo-institutionalist that uses the behavior of representatives as an explanatory variable of the Legislative Branch. For the functionalist approach, legislative power can be active, reactive or “stamper”. The active when it acts decisively in the implementation of government programs and allocation of resources, exercising significant influence on the decision-making process; reactive is the one whose prerogatives of decision-making power are delegated to the executive branch (COX; MORGENTERN, 2002; FIGUEIREDO; LIMONGI, 2002 *apud* PARANHOS, 2014, p. 26 and "stamper" as the one that works entirely under the government's initiative.

The neo-institutionalist approach, in turn, branches into three streams: distributive, informational and partisan. The distributive model is based on the motivation of representatives. Representatives basically want to be re-elected. The informational perspective is built in direct dialogue with the distributive version, in it, the majority postulate establishes that the choices made by the legislature must, in the final analysis, be choices made by the majority of its members, applying to the two domains of choices in which the Legislative Branch operates: both when voting laws and when choosing the rules and procedures to order their work. The distributive and informational versions have one essential point in common: the recognition of the centrality of commissions as the structuring axes of legislative activity. The partisan version rejects this dichotomy. According to its proponents, the commission system must be understood with reference to the parties themselves. Instead of seeing commissions as a form of legislative organization that is independent of parties, these authors propose that they be understood as a form of party government (LIMONGI, 1994).

From the point of view of what representatives propose, studies show us that in Brazil the propositions, especially bills, are constrained by the structure of electoral incentives which, in turn, would hinder addressing fundamental issues, in addition to the inability to select of candidates by party leaders, decentralization of the political system and intra-party competition that would encourage the personalist behavior of legislators (MAINWARING; AMES; SAMUELS, *apud* TOMIO; RICCI, 2012, p. 207).

It follows the reasoning that there is also present in the literature the perception of a trend of geographical concentration of votes in regions or cities, resulting in the legislative production having, in terms of content, a relative and secondary character focused essentially on granting particularistic advantages. The argument then, basically developed for federal representatives, could be extended to state representatives, thus, the quality of the rules introduced by state representatives would become predominantly parochialist (TOMIO; RICCI, 2012, p. 207).

Added another view on the behavior of representatives, the authors Castro, Anastasia and Nunes (2009) working on the determinants of the political behavior of state representatives in

twelve Brazilian legislative houses, developed an index to measure their degree of “particularism” and, the constructed index had a statistically consistent result for the group of representatives studied where the degree of particularism seemed high.

In the same study, the authors continue stating that the variation in the degree of particularism among representatives from the same Legislative House is related to: 1) the ideological positioning of the parties to which they are affiliated; and 2) the dimension explored by studies on electoral connection. They point to the greater likelihood of particularist behavior by representatives affiliated to the right-most parties and the association found between the type of consistent and electorally based supporters of representatives and the degree of particularism of their legislative behavior.

However, following the same reasoning as above, they recommend caution given the need to examine the conclusions they obtained in the light of data on the geographic distribution of the vote obtained by representatives, as well as information on the model of legislative organization and the degree of development institutional presentation by legislative houses from different states (CASTRO; ANASTASIA; NUNES, 2009).

After this brief review of the literature, we will focus specifically on the legislative production of state representatives and from Military Police to advance at the subnational level through a specific professional segment; for that, we need an adequate methodology, as we will describe in the next section.

3 Methodology

As we said, the recognized intellectual efforts underway on the subject, although recent, notably, start from analyses that tend to see these segments in an aggregate way. Here, with a view to scientific precision and for a better understanding, studies should be disaggregated. In this sense, it is necessary to understand that the police segment is diluted in characteristics (organizational, sociographic, ideological, etc.) the military segment is also distinguished at the federal and state levels; the military police themselves are distinguished, in addition to the characteristics mentioned, in two well-marked internal strata, official leaders as and the other posts as executors².

Therefore, given the political contextual relevance that the military and police segments represent and in honor of the necessary scientific precision, it seemed interesting to us to analyze the military police segment in particular as we will do next from its legislative proposals in the state parliaments.

²In descending hierarchical order: Officers (Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major, Captain, 1st Lieutenant and 2nd Lieutenant); other posts (Candidate, Warrant Officer, 1st Sergeant, 2nd Sergeant, 3rd Sergeant, Corporal and Soldier).

To this end, we worked with 1061 cases as an observation unit already established in a database categorized from state legislative assemblies, corresponding to the total of the legislative proposals of 21 representatives³ from the ranks of the military police (unit of analysis) distributed in 14 federative units (as shown in table 2), in the proposed time frame that corresponds to the legislature from 2015 to 2018 from the species: Bills, Complementary Bills and Constitutional Amendments.

Table 2 - Distribution of state representatives from the military police in the 2015 to 2018 legislature by federative unit, posts and / or graduation.

State	Officers	Other Posts	Quantity
SP	02 Colonels	-	02
MG	01 Colonel	01 Sergeant, 01 Cabo	03
BA	-	01 Sergeant, 01 Corporal	02
CE	01 Captain	-	01
RR	-	01 Soldier	01
MS	-	01 Corporal	01
PE	-	01 Soldier	01
AM	-	01 Corporal	01
SE	01 Captain	-	01
ES	-	01 Corporal	01
RO	-	01 Soldier	01
GO	01 Major	-	01
MA	-	01 Corporal	01
RJ	01 Colonel, 01 Major	02 Soldiers	04
Totals	08	13	21

Source: own elaboration.

We analyzed the set of legislative proposals including the corporate interests themselves from the point of view of quantity, time frequency, by professional class stratum and by themes, as well as some inferences on success rate by obtaining frequencies through the IBM -SPSS system - Statistics.

Initially, for the sake of clarity, when analyzing the set of legislative proposals, we can see how they are distributed by species throughout the term of the legislature. We found that 906 proposals were made through Bills (85.4%), 112 proposals were made through Constitutional Amendments (10.5%) and 43 proposals through Complementary Bills (4.1%).

³24 elements correspond to the total of state representatives, from Military Police elected for the 2015/2018 legislature. 21 elements correspond to the number of state representatives, from Military Polices in office in the 2015/2018 legislature and of which data were available on legislative production.

A second necessary step would be to establish typologies to fit each proposition in a specific theme. In this sense, two typologies developed by Santos (2001) and Amorim and Santos (2003) help us. The typology of Santos (2001), analyzing the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro, is composed of nine categories, namely: administration, safety, tribute, budget, minority rights, public utility, loan, tax and others, absent themes of tax or economic nature.

The typology conceived by de Amorim and Santos (2003) is geared to the national legislature composed of eight categories: administrative, economic, honorary, budgetary, political, social, cultural-scientific-technological and ecological. In our case, taking advantage of some categories of these authors, we have adapted to also fit the corporate interests that may be present in the proposals of the state representatives from the military police in Brazil, as shown in table 3.

Table 3 - Themes defined by the author for the legislative proposals of state representatives from the military police, legislature from 2015 to 2018.

Career	It refers to the legislative proposals with a view to the MP's professional rise.
Benefits	It refers to legislative proposals with a view to granting wages, social safety, assistance and financial benefits to the MP.
Infrastructure	It refers to legislative proposals with a view to MP infrastructure: materials, equipment, buildings, expansion and optimization of human resources, as well as, they refer to legislative proposals with a view to organizational changes in MP.
Social	It refers to legislative proposals with a view to the great theme of public health; refers to legislative proposals with a view to the major theme of education and other themes of social interest.
Safety	It refers to legislative proposals aimed at the great theme of public safety.
Economic Domain	It refers to legislative proposals with a view to the theme of the public budget; legislative proposals with a view to the tax theme; legislative proposals with a view to fostering, prohibiting or regulating the economic domain (industry, commerce, services).
Tribute	It refers to legislative proposals with a view to honors, praises, tributes, decorations, awards, as well as it refers to legislative production to legislative proposals with a view to declaring public utility, etc.
Public administration	It refers to legislative proposals aimed at acts and processes of the general public administration, Executive, Legislative and Judiciary.

Other Themes	Refers to legislative proposals not addressed with a specific theme.
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Source: own elaborated by Santos (2001) and Amorim and Santos (2003).

We identified, in the course of the research that feeds the present text, that the theme “benefits”, as well as the other corporate themes, should be relativized since it would be possible, once the military police belong to the executives of the state executives, to find areas of overlap in relation to the other state public servers of the Executive, Legislative or Judiciary. How to ensure that any benefit presented as a proposition is not extensive? That this proposition was not originally conceived beyond, before, or also in the interests of military police corporations? For this, we examine each proposition *per se* and fit them in a model of linking interests (according to table 4) that qualifies the propositions of corporate interest.

Table 4 - Description of the types of linkage of corporate interests to fit the legislative proposals of state representatives from the military police, legislature from 2015 to 2018.

Direct	It refers to legislative production exclusively linked to corporate interests (MP institution or its members, such as career proposals, financial benefits, social safety, salaries, institution structure, staff, equipment, etc.).
Indirect	It refers to legislative production that is indirectly or residually linked to corporate interests (MP institution or its members, especially financial, social safety and salary benefits given to the general framework of civil servants and to MPs and / or structural changes in management or administration of public bodies that also serve MP interests).

Source: own elaboration.

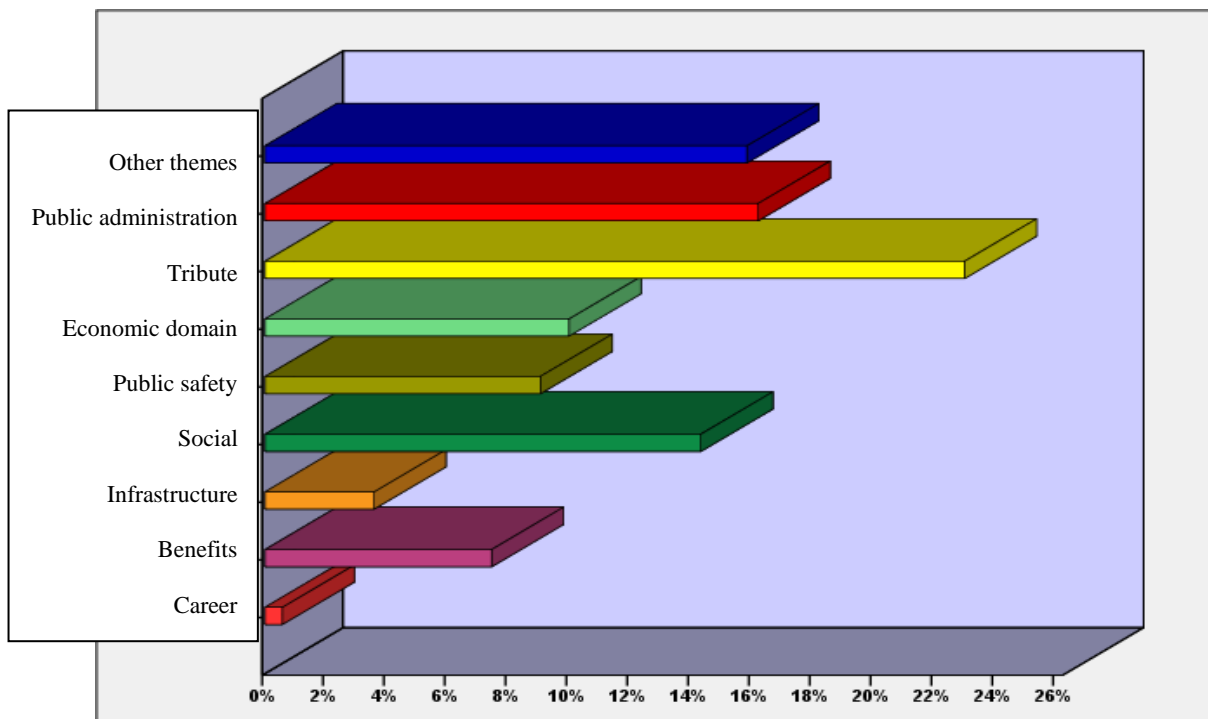
4 The legislative propositions of state representatives from the military police

The themes of the propositions presented by the state representatives who were discharged from the military police in Brazil reveal different percentages, however, they allow some initial interpretations. When, therefore, we consider the entire legislative period (2015 to 2018) and the universe of proposals by all parliamentary authors (1061 propositions), we found that the theme “tributes” corresponds to 23% of all proposals, the highest percentage of a specific theme, corresponding to 244 proposals; next, we have the theme of “public administration” with 16.2% (172 propositions); “other themes” 15.8% (168 propositions); theme “social” with 14.3% (152 propositions) and the theme “economic domain” with 10% (106 propositions).

Below a hundred cases follows the theme "public safety" with 9% (96 proposals) and, with the lowest percentages, we have the themes of corporate interest: "benefits" with 7.4% (79 proposals); “infrastructure” with 3.6% (38 proposals) and “career” with 0.6% (06 cases). Graph

1 provides us with a spatial view of the percentages of the thematic distribution:

Graph 1 - Percentage frequency of themes in the 2015 to 2018 legislature for all state representatives from Military Police.



Source: own elaboration.

For comparison purposes, Ranulfo Paranhos, studying subnational legislative production related to social demands to build an index to measure the responsiveness of legislative houses in nine states (AP, ES, MG, PB, PR, RS, SC, SE and SP) between the years 2007 to 2010, found that when considering the issues to which the bills refer, those classified as “Administrative” are the ones that were most submitted (73.29%) of the total number of proposals, "Public Policy" was the second subject that received the most proposals (16.97%), followed by the "Tribute" (5.66%) and "Economic" (2.63%) proposals (PARANHOS, 2014, p. 153). In this way, we can observe a certain similarity in the relevance of what was found by Paranhos in relation to our first four specific themes, although not known exactly in the same percentage positions.

Obviously, the theme of tributes or honorific depends on some explanation given a certain legislative preference. In this sense, Pessine and Pratti (2015), in a study on the pattern of parliamentary organization and legislative production in the Legislative Assembly of the state of Espírito Santo (2007-2010) found that the Legislative preferably proposed social and honorary projects. The interest in honorary projects would lie in the fact that the approval of this type of matter would not depend on the movement of great political resources on the part of the representative, at low cost, being a way to make the implementation of distributive policies possible to the electoral bases of the legislator. In that study, they identified that of the 427

proposals of honorific content, 423 originated in the Legislative (PESSINE; PRATTI, 2015).

On the other hand, when it comes to corporate interests achieved in our study, we can see that when proposed by representatives from the military police, in the studied period, they represent in a cumulative percentage only 11.6% of the total of the proposals, that is, the corporate interests ("benefits", "infrastructure" and "career") combined correspond to 123 of the 1061 proposals. In the same sense, public safety, as the area of origin and expertise of these representatives, also ends up occupying a very modest percentage.

5 Cycle of legislative production

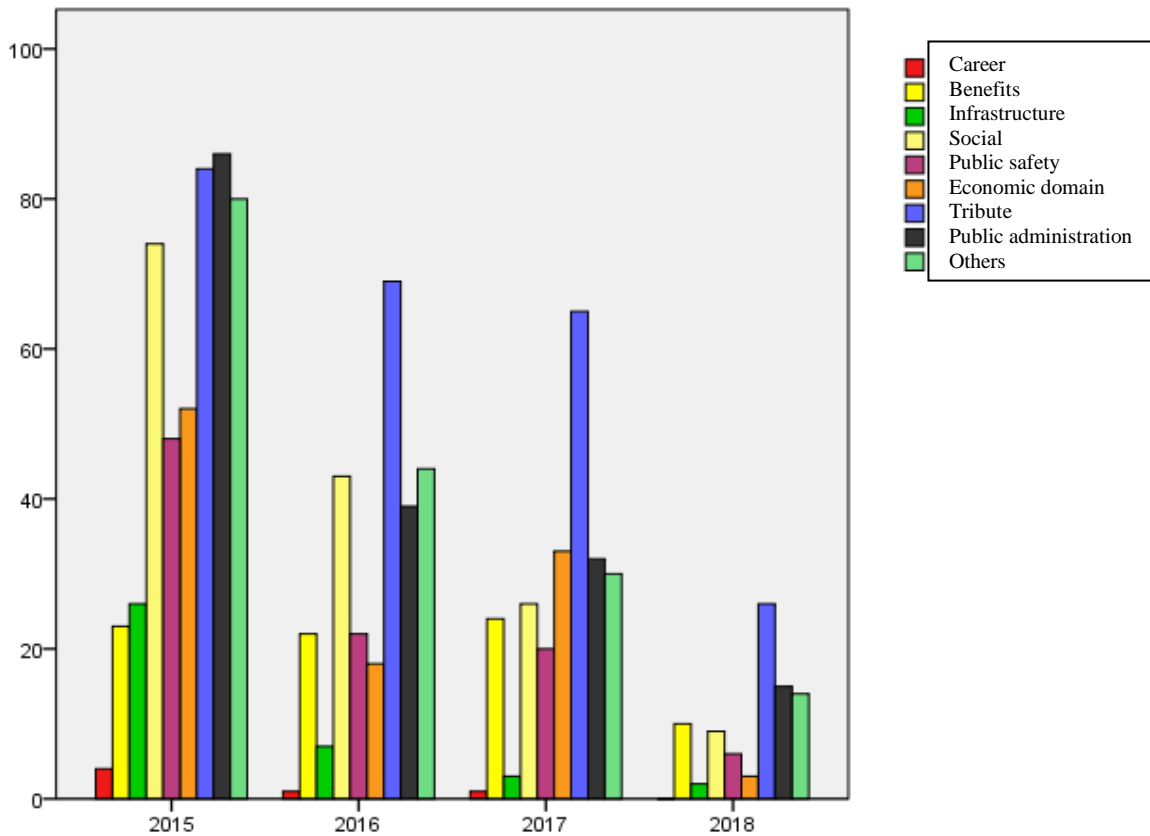
When we divide the legislative period in each year of the legislature, individually, maintaining the frequency analysis by the total of state representatives from the military police, we could see that the biggest difference in the volume of propositions occurs at the ends of the legislature, it is worth saying that the greatest number of propositions is presented in the first year and the lowest amount in the last year. In the first year of the analyzed legislature, 2015, we counted 477 propositions, which correspond to 44.9% of the total of them; in the last year, 2018, we verified only 85 propositions that are equivalent to 8% of the set.

Regarding the temporality of legislative production, Paranhos in his study of subnational parliaments, as we mentioned earlier, found that, in general, the first year of the legislature for all states presented a greater number of bill submissions than the last to year and the trend in the second year was always to have a smaller number of submissions than the previous one, pointing out as one of the possible causes for this phenomenon the fact that the Brazilian electoral system reserved the even years as electoral years (PARANHOS, 2014, p. 123-24).

In our case, in the intervening years, 2016 and 2017, respectively, we found 265 and 234 propositions, equivalent to 25% and 22% of the total set, which means that there is a clear process of drop in the volume of propositions as the legislature advances establishing two extremes.

Along with the evident decreasing propositional process in our research, the theme "tribute" resists and strengthens. To clarify, the theme "tribute" corresponds to 17.6% in the first year; 26% in the second year; 27.8% in the third year and 30.6% in the last year of the legislature. More timidly, but also growing, corporate interests are represented by the theme "benefits" with 4.8%, 8.3%, 10.3% and 11.8% respectively during the legislature, although when discussing the rate of success, we will be able to clearly demonstrate the relativity and fragility of this discreet corporate growth. In graph 2 below, we can see the themes presented year by year from their frequencies:

Graph 2 - Frequency of themes by year of legislature for all state representative from Military Police.



Source: own elaboration.

As we noted shortly before discussing the legislature year by year, corporate interests do not seem to be a purposeful priority for state representatives from the military police, and this finding is reinforced since this point is not about success, but only about presenting whether or not an idea or demand through a legislative species. On the other hand, we would have to consider how much the institutions or their members could constrain a representative from military police in relation to his interests, we could think here about the effectiveness of the lobby of the military police, the effectiveness of the action of interest groups or pressure on such representatives.

At this point, Santos (2012) in a study on the industry lobby and parliamentary behavior in the House of representatives, in an empirical analysis of votes in three models (government vs CNI; opposition vs CNI; and government vs CNI or opposition vs CNI) when asked if the lobby would affect representatives linked to the productive sector differently, the answer was yes. The lobby affected the representatives linked to the industry more than the other representatives. In substantive terms, the probability that the non-businessman representative would vote undisciplined was 29.4%, while the probability for representatives with some connection with the productive sector was very similar, that is, 26.9%. However, when it comes to representatives whose economic activity is (or was) specifically industrial activity, the probability increased

significantly. For these industrial representatives, the odds ratio is almost three times higher than if they were non-industrial. In substantive terms, this means that the probability that the lobby will have an effect on these representatives was much more effective than on the others (SANTOS, 2012).

Despite Santos' answer to the question, it is based on the following reasoning that although the models analyzed have led to believe that the lobby has an effect, it would function much more as a reinforcement mechanism than properly as capable of exerting decisive influence with a view to changing the representative's behavior in the Plenary; although the lobby may have some explanatory capacity for the indiscipline of the representative, it rivals the previous ideological position of the representative, as well as, with his party affiliation. Thus, factors beyond the lobby would be important and competing in explaining parliamentary behavior in the specific case (SANTOS, 2012, p. 34).

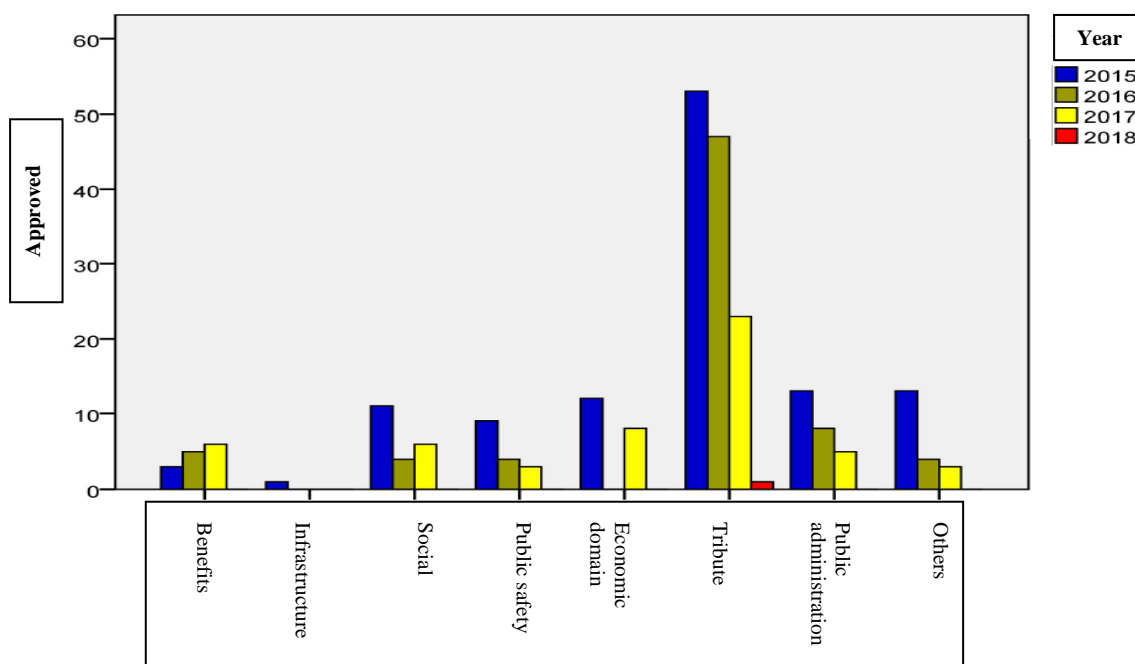
On our side, once the military police are well marked in two socially and economically distinct professional strata, we also seek to distinguish the frequency of propositions between officers and the other posts. In this sense, we found that of the total number of propositions, officials account for a percentage of 34.7% (364 propositions) and the other posts with 65.7% (697 propositions). The other posts correspond to 61.9% of the total number of state representatives from the military police and the officers correspond to 38.09% of them, thus, it can be said that the propositional frequency between them is balanced.

Now, when we analyze these two strata from the exclusive point of view of corporate interests, we have an interesting fact. The career theme, although representing only 0.6% of all proposals, was presented almost exclusively by the other posts. This could reflect the resistance of officers to legislative changes that could modify the *status quo* of military police institutions with regard to the professional rise of other posts to their own stratum given that in addition to diverse and well-marked economic and social aspects, there is a process differentiated access and career. As a rule, in the military police there is no linear career path that allows a Soldier to aspire to reach the post of Colonel, unless he submits himself to exclusive access for recruiting officers.

6 From propositions to the law, is there success?

The answer to the question with which we opened this section is affirmative, there is success in the sense that part of what state representatives from the military police are proposing becomes legislation, however, we will now try to explore their percentages and try to reveal their significance. The frequencies of the approved themes can be seen in the following graph 3:

Graph 3 - Frequency of themes approved by legislature year for all state representatives from military police.



Source: own elaboration.

When we take the absolute data, that is, all the legislative proposals in relation to those that are successful (approval), we verify that of the set of 1061 proposals only 242 were approved, that is to say 22.8% of success, a modest rate of the state representatives from the military police compared to what has been identified on the subject in other studies. In this sense, Tomio and Ricci (2012, p. 198), when studying the performance of the Legislative Assemblies of 12 Brazilian states during two consecutive legislatures (1999 to 2002 and 2002 to 2006), found that the overall average success rate for all legislative houses, when the proposed initiative resides in them, is 43%, practically twice the performance of state representatives from the military police described here.

By dividing the data corresponding to the proposals and approvals we have: the theme “tribute” that corresponds to 244 proposals had 124 approved (50, 8% of approval); “Economic domain” with 106 proposals, had 20 proposals approved (18.8% approval); “Benefits” is the best performance of the corporate interest with 14 approved proposals out of 79 presented (17.7% approval); “Public safety” with 96 proposals had 16 approved (16.6% approval); “Public administration” with 172 proposals, had 26 approved (15.1% approval); “social” with 152 proposals, had 21 approved (13.8% approval); “Other themes” with 168 proposals, had 20 approved (11.9% approval). In the last positions of this ranking of approved proposals are the theme “infrastructure” with only an approval of 38 proposals presented (2.6% of approval) and the theme “career” that does not have any approved proposal from the 06 presented.

When dealing with the legislative proposals of state representatives from military police in a previous section, we referred to the study by Paranhos that found that the bills that granted titles of honorary citizenship and of a similar nature comprised a quarter of all proposals made into law by subnational legislative assemblies, ratifying, as we also detected, the relevance of the theme “tribute”.

Following, as we said, Tomio and Ricci (2012) analyzed 12 state legislative assemblies and our study is based on 14 of these houses. If we compare from coincident federative units (states) in the two studies, we will have the following success percentages (according to table 5), noting that in the case of the authors cited, the percentage is the average since they describe their chosen federative units in two different years, 1999 and 2003 (TOMIO; RICCI, 2012, p. 198).

Table 5 - Percentages of success in federative units (states) of Tomio and Ricci (2012) and Souza (2018).

STATE	TOMIO and RICCI (2012) %	SOUZA (2018) %	DIFFERENCE %
SP	28,1	10,07	18,03
MG	52,9	15,7	37,2
CE	39	2,1	36,9
SE	97,1	0,4	96,7
ES	56,6	3,7	52,9
RJ	22,2	24,8	2,6

Source: own elaboration with data from TOMIO and RICCI (2012).

It is easy to see that the success rate of state representatives from military police when compared by coincident states in the study by Tomio and Ricci (2012) and in ours, shows an even more explicit lag, except for the state of Rio de Janeiro (RJ) where the performance of state representatives from military police is greater than the average of the success of the legislature of the same state, studied by Tomio and Ricci (2012).

On the other hand, the success rate of the themes with the highest percentage in decreasing order as we identified in our study ("tribute", "economic domain", "benefits", "public safety", "public administration", "social", " other themes ", " infrastructure "and" career "), to a certain extent, resemble what has already been identified as more favorable for approval by Graça and Santos (2009) in work on legislative production in the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro (ALERJ), covering the first two biennia of two different governments, 2003-2004, Rosinha Garotinho Government, and 2007-2008, Sérgio Cabral Government.

The authors of the study at ALERJ used the typologies of Amorim and Santos (2003) to identify the legislative production as we used it in part in our work, therefore, they are compatible for comparison purposes if we abstract from the themes of corporate interests and the theme linked to the specific origin of our representatives, public safety. In the first five positions by percentage

of approval in that study, the authors verified that the decreasing order of the themes would be: “Administrative”, “Tribute”, “Economic”, “Budgetary” and “Social” (GRAÇA; SANTOS, 2009, p. 18-19).

Discussing the research data they conducted at that time in the parliament of Rio de Janeiro, the authors ponder the existence of two categories that concentrated between 54.8% of the laws in 2003 and 71.4% in 2008, the categories “Administrative” and “Tribute”, that these two alternated as the main legislated subject, with the first being the leader in three of the four years (2003, 2007 and 2008), while the last reaches the largest proportion of the general produced in 2004, with 40.9% of the laws, accounting for a quarter of all legislative production (GRAÇA; SANTOS, 2009, p. 19-20), with the authors assuming that the “Administrative” category proves to be very comprehensive and generic, somewhat imprecise to limit themes.

In the same sense, they found that the “Economic” and “Social” laws also appeared with some relevance. These alternated in the third and fourth places, with the first taking the lead in 2003 and 2008, while the second reaching the third position in 2004 and 2007, that is, if we compare to what we reveal in the legislative proposals of state representatives from police officers in our study, the themes that are successful with higher percentages are similar.

Reanalyzing the corporate issue in more detail, given that the average success rate of state representatives from military police is 22.8% as we have shown, if we look only at corporate interests in isolation for what has been presented and for what has been approved, then we would have others necessary considerations. In the “career” theme, 06 proposals were presented and none were approved, therefore, without success in this theme; in “benefits” theme, 79 proposals were presented and 14 approved, success of 17.7%; and in “infrastructure” 38 proposals were presented with the approval of just one, a success of 2.6%, that is, on average, when the center of the analysis is corporate interests, success is even smaller, equivalent to 6, 7%.

Pragmatically, 17.7% of success in “benefits” is not all bad; it is the third theme with the highest percentage of success as we have shown, in fact. However, in the previous section when we discussed the legislative production of state representatives from the military police from the point of view of the frequency of the themes, we said that year after year in the course of the legislature the theme “benefits” presented a timid, but, noticeable growth, however, should be considered when discussing the success rate.

Thus, based on the corporate interest classification and qualification model due to the nature of its connection (table 04), we identified that of the 14 proposals approved by the state representatives from the military police in the “benefits” theme, only 05 of them were directly linked to corporate interests, the other 09 propositions that brought benefits of some kind to the state military police, in reality were the result of “hitchhiking” in propositions that aimed at the general framework of state employees.

7 Conclusions

Our proposal in this text and within the scope that allowed it, was essentially to present the legislative production of state representatives from the military police in Brazil, however, even though we have not submitted at the moment the data we have to more robust statistical tests, it was possible to remove findings and some conclusions.

We found that from the point of view of what they propose, these representatives are similar to what has already been detected in the literature at a subnational level; that the volume of legislative proposals tends to decrease over the years of the legislature; that in the universe of propositions, in decreasing order, the theme "tributes" corresponds to 23%, the theme "public administration" 16.2% and the theme "social" 14.3%; the corporate interests of the military police in Brazil, when proposed by representatives from the military police, represent a cumulative percentage of only 11.6% of the total proposals and public safety, as the area of origin and expertise of these representatives, also ends up occupying a modest percentage position; when we take the absolute data, that is, all legislative proposals in relation to those that are successful (approval), we verify that of the set of 1061 proposals only 242 were approved, that is, 22.8% of success. The data reveal that the themes of interest to corporations or their members are not a priority for these representatives; public safety is in an intermediate position of relevance; in terms of performance, the success of these representatives is less than the average of state legislatures and even less when it comes to the corporate interests of the institutions they came from.

It seems to us that the lack of studies on the military and police officers in parliamentary action takes on more emergency dimensions. The contemporary scenario materialized a trend that had been detected for some time: the growth of professional sectors linked to the discourse of public safety in electoral disputes. This trend went beyond what could be expected, since, from electoral competition, robust electoral success was anchored in a radicalized discourse. In contingent reality, not only the legislatures, but the municipal, state and even federal executives are now populated by military and police officers. Today there are countless elements distributed among mayors, councilors, state representatives, federal representatives, senators, a governor, a vice-governor, several ministers of state, the vice-president of the republic and the president himself.

Thus, understanding this moment of Brazilian democracy seems to us to be urgent to national Political Science. Deepening studies on the military and police officers in increasing presence in parliaments propose an effort, among many others possible, to better understand the phenomenon, its unfolding and its possible consequences for Brazilian democracy.

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